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FAUST.

Historia D. Johannis Faustii des Zauberers nach der Wolfenbütteler handschrift nebst dem nachweis eines teils ihrer quellen herausgegeben von GUSTAV MILCHSACK. [Überrlieferungen zur Litteratur, Geschichte und Kunst hrsg. v. Gustav Milchsack, Herzl. Bibliothekar in Wolfenbüttel. 2. Bd., 1. Teil. Wolfenbüttel: Verlag von Julius Zwissler, 1892-1897.]

THIS book is at once a very noteworthy and a very aggravating contribution to our knowledge of the real nature of the *Faustsage*. Gustav Milchsack publishes herewith for the first time a manuscript of the *Faustbuch* discovered by him in the Wolfenbüttel ducal library. We are, however, left wholly in the dark as to the circumstances of the discovery and as to the present whereabouts of the manuscript. The editor does not even distinctly state, but leaves us to infer, that the version of the chap-book here presented is based, not upon a forgotten print, but upon a manuscript. With the single exception of a footnote, p. ccxc sq., suggested by a discussion of Lerchheimer's relation to the original of the *Faustbuch*, Milchsack offers no systematic attempt at showing the relation of the present version to that contained in the Frankfort edition of 1587. Instead of with critical apparatus for controlling the Wolfenbüttel manuscript in subsequent investigations, the Introduction is almost exclusively concerned with the question of the sources of the *Faustbuch*. Not even a hint do we find as to the intention of the editor to deal critically with the manuscript question in the second part of the work, or at any subsequent time. The very importance of the investigations chronicled in the editor's Introduction renders still more regrettable defects like those just mentioned.

However, we have good reason to be thankful to Milchsack for full information concerning other discoveries described in the aforesaid Introduction, and to these I wish to call especial attention.

A brief review of the cultural conditions that produced the *Faustbuch*, with emphasis upon the importance of the unknown author, almost the sole transmitter of the so-called *Faustsage* to subsequent generations, occupies the first fourteen pages of the book. Scherer's view (*Das älteste Faustbuch*, Berlin, 1884, s. xiv), that oral or written tradition concerning

Faust and possibly other magicians, whose personality has been merged by the Anonymous in that of Faust, is the broad substratum of the whole chap-book, Milchsack finds scarcely in accord with the extreme paucity of details touching the *Faustsage* outside of the *Faustbuch* itself (s. xv). That not even Widmann, whose collection of material followed closely upon 1587 and was prompted by a desire to surpass the performance of the Anonymous, presents us with any new points, not easily traceable to familiar literary sources, certainly does seem strange, if we still hold to the view that the Anonymous drew heavily upon a large stock of widely current gossip, oral and written, concerning Faust and his more or less similar prototypes.

Milchsack accords Ellinger full recognition for the implications of an article published by the latter under the title: *Zu den Quellen des Faustbuchs von 1587* (*Zs. f. vergl. Litt. Gesch.* N. F., i, 156 ff., 1887, 88). Ellinger points out the opportunity afforded by the heterogeneous make-up of the chap-book for separating the various layers from each other and for resolving them into their constituent parts.

"Es ist Ellinger's unbestreitbares Verdienst, die Bahn dieser fruchtbaren Untersuchungen eröffnet zu haben durch den Hinweis auf das Faustische Rhodus, wo der Sprung aus dem ungewissen Zwielficht der Hypothesen auf den hellen Boden der Tatsachen gemacht werden muss: durch den Hinweis auf die Quellen" (p. xvii).

Ellinger's attempt to follow his own clue led him to a careful comparison of geographical and historical hand-books of the sixteenth century, with passages of the chap-book and the discovery of sundry striking resemblances, particularly in Sebastian Münster's *Mappe Europae*, Frankfurt a. M., 1536, and in the same author's *Cosmographie*, Basel, 1550, whose discussion is the substance of his article in the *Zs. f. vergl. Litt.-Gesch.*, N. F., p. 156 sq. His conviction of the existence of another as yet undiscovered source, common to the Anonymous and to various other hand-book writers of the sixteenth century, as Münster, Franck, Quad, Jobst, and Sauer (*Zs. f. vergl. Litt. Gesch.*, i, 158), doubtlessly proved quite as suggestive to Milchsack, as did the general theory, already quoted. Especially was this true in the light of Erich Schmidt's article (pub. first in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch III*, 1883, and later in *Charakteristiken*, p. 1 sq.), entitled *Faust und das 16. Jahrhundert*, in which

the author showed that the supernatural secrets of the chap-book stand in a droll anachronism with the cultural status of the latter part of the sixteenth century. Milchsack quotes Schmidt's words (*Charakteristiken*, p. 22):

"Der Autor hat den riesigen Fortschritt der Naturwissenschaften nicht mitgemacht, und so geschieht es, dass der Titan Faust, der seltsamerweise trotz Jahresgehalt und höllischer Kunst genötigt ist, in einer Zeit spöttischer Lasstafeln und Prognostica sein Leben als Horoskopsteller zu fristen, und sein Berater in wissenschaftlichen Dingen greulich verwarlost sind, dass über die Bedeutung des Sonnenstandes für Sommerwärme und Winterkälte ein Kapitelehen von belustigender Albernheit vorgetragen und alles Astronomische ohne eine Ahnung der Kopernikanischen Revolution vom Standpunkt vorsintflutlicher Anschauung aus abgehandelt wird,"

to support his own view that the nonsensical and incoherent revelations of Mephostophiles are a proof, not of the ignorance and incapacity of the Anonymous to grasp the *Faust-sage* in its breadth and depth, but of their mediæval or at least of their ante-Reformation origin (p. xix). It seems to me questionable whether Schmidt really meant what Milchsack attributes to him here. His quoted words are, at any rate, equally capable of another construction; namely, that the ignorance of the Anonymous was the occasion of his putting into the mouth of Mephostophiles such antediluvian philosophical and scientific views as the chap-book contains. However, the intention of Erich Schmidt in the premises is significant at this point merely as a stimulus to Milchsack, prompting him to search earlier records for the sources suspected by Ellinger to lie in the sixteenth century. Whether Milchsack read this into or out of the words of Schmidt is immaterial. To his mind the Anonymous, measured by the standards of his day, was at least a fairly well educated man, with some conception of the enlightenment of his age, who thought the aforesaid antediluvian views just strange and eerie enough to render a magician and practitioner of the black art impressive, not indeed to scholars like Trithem, Mutian, Wier, and Lerchheimer, but to the naïvely credulous public for which he wrote (p. xix). In the absence of a strong creative imagination that would have enabled him to portray his hero as the central figure of some bold dream of the future, realizing the most daring hopes and speculations of his contem-

poraries, he conjures up the pale shades of the vanishing past, with which to charm or to terrify a less fastidious audience (p. xx). This interpretation of Erich Schmidt's conception of the problem is certainly original with Milchsack. At any rate, Ellinger seems to forget, while examining and comparing the hand-books of the sixteenth century, the wide discrepancy between the chap-book contents and the comparatively enlightened views of the Anonymous' own time. Similarly Szamatólski, who presents in his *Zu den Quellen des ältesten Faustbuchs* (*Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, i, 161 ff.) many striking parallels between the chap-book and *M. Elucidarius*, Frankfurt a. M., 1572, attaches little importance to the fact that the Lucidarius is a product of the twelfth century, that has been a favorite of the 'Messen' through a long series of reprints because of its encyclopædic substance (cf. p. xxii). Such reflections led Milchsack to search the hand-books of the fifteenth century for the source of the chap-book, suspected but not discovered by Ellinger.

In Hartmann Schedel's *Buch der Cronicken und gedächtnus wirdigern geschichten von anbegynn der werlt biss auf diese unsere zeit*, Nürnberg, 1493, he has hit upon what certainly seems the source in question. The theological, the astronomical, and the geographical-historical details of this encyclopædic work, whose subsequent editions and reprints are practically literal copies of the original of 1493, reappear in sundry parts of the chap-book with only slight deviations in form and substance. For example, the whole of the twenty-sixth chapter, the longest in the *Faustbuch*, which describes the travels of the hero, and the twenty-seventh chapter, *vom Paradeiss*, consist entirely of paragraphs and of smaller fragments of the *Cronick*, with slight or with no verbal variations, bound together by a slender thread of narrative, intended to furnish the necessary transitions from point to point. If we omit three oriental cities that head Schedel's list, and sundry European cities that the Anonymous does not mention at all, we find in *Cronick* and chap-book the same sequence of places, involving a very remarkable zig-zag journey pursued by Faust through twelve stations, beginning with *Trier* and including, besides, *Paris, Mainz, Neapel, Venedig, Padua, Rom, Mailand, Florenz, Lion, Köln, Aachen*, (p. xxv sq.). We must certainly agree with Milchsack (p. xxvi) that at this point no very

deep reflection was necessary to convince the chap-book author that a closer regard for details of continental geography would render travel easier, even for a man like Faust, seated upon a *Flügelross*, and would also reduce the demands upon the credulity of even a very naïve and superstitious audience. We are, therefore, not surprised to see him abandon at this juncture the sequence observed by Schedel, and proceed with some regularity eastward from *Aachen* to *Konstantinopel* and back again by way of *Memphis-Kairo* to *Erfurt* through a series of towns, all of which are described in the *Cronick*. In parallel columns (p. xxvi—p. iil [=xlviil]) Milchsack presents piece by piece the relation of the successive parts of the twenty-sixth chapter of the chap-book to their fifteenth century originals as contained in the *Cronick*. Here is the mysterious source of so much that is similar in the hand-books of Franck, Münster, Jobst, Quad, Sauer, etc., (*Zs. f. vergl. Litt.-Gesch.*, i, 158), and its much closer correspondence with the *Faustbuch* makes inevitable the inference that it was in the hands of the Anonymous. The ease with which the latter transforms these geographical-statistical data of an ancient hand-book into the elements of a magic journey, is a staggering blow for our faith in the credibility of any part of the chap-book, and for our belief in the existence of any considerable body of oral or written Faust-tradition, to which Ellinger confidently refers as *unmittelbare Quellen* (*Zs. f.*

vergl. Litt.-Gesch., i, 158). This is far removed from Scherer's theory (*das älteste Faustbuch*, p. xiv) of faithful transcription, occasional transference, and anecdotal decoration. This is wholesale literary piracy, backed by a certain fundamental shrewdness, and capacity for loosely linking together the items of the book and connecting them with the name and the person of the hero.

Chapter 27, with its eastward trip through lands quite likely selected by the Anonymous from the map in Schedel's *Cronick* (bl. 12b and 13a) and through places he had early noted in his original and reserved for later use,—names well calculated to suggest great remoteness,—brings us at length to the climax of Faust's earthly journeyings, to the Garden of Eden itself. A glance at the parallels presented on pages lv, lvi, lvii, shows that Schedel furnished substance and in some cases also verbal form of this, as of the preceding chapter. The slavish copying of geographical and historical details already noticed is presumptive evidence of similar procedure elsewhere in the chap-book. In three other places we find unmistakable evidence of a use of Schedel's *Cronick* like what we have already mentioned. The whole of the twenty-first chapter consists, save for a few introductory words of the anonymous, of a series of extracts from Schedel, with slight verbal modifications, well illustrated by the following parallel:

"Von dess Himmels Lauf, Zier und Ursprung"

FAUSTBUCH W. p. 43, 8:

. . . Dann Gott macht anfanglich den Hymmel auss dem mittel des wassers, unnd theilt die wasser vom wasser, unnd hiess das Firmament den hymmel. So ist der Hymmel kuglicht oder Scheublich unnd beweglich. Auch ist der Hymmel, der vom wasser erschaffen unnd zusammen gefüegt ist, so befestigt wie der Christall unnd sicht auch oben im Hymmel also. Darinn ist angehefft das gestirn, etc.

(b. 1126, d. 1198), concerning the uncreated and eternal nature of the world and of mankind,—a passage, whose counterpart in the chap-book is, as Scherer says (*Das älteste Faustbuch*, p. xviii), one of the few places, where we rise above the measure of mediæval ignorance and half-education, characteristic of the work. Instead, however, of being one of those features of Faust-tradition not utterly

SCHEDL'S *Cronick*, Bl. 3a:

Amm andern tag sprach got. Es werde das firmament in dem mittel der wasser: und tailte die wasser von wasseren und er hies das firmament den himel. Got hat das firmament gescheibelt, beweglich, andere emfintliche ding begreifende gemacht, und auss zusammengeronnen wassern in gestalt des cristals befestigt, und darinn das angeheft gestirne.

No less interesting than this papable literary transfer of chapter 21 (cf. Milchsack, pp. lix, lx and lxi) is the somewhat more complicated situation in chapter 22: *Ein Disputatio und falsche antwort dess Geists Doctor Fausto gethon* (cf. pp. lxii, lxiii). Of especial importance is the appearance in Schedel's *Cronick* (Bl. 1a) of the passage embodying the doctrine urged by the Arabian philosopher, Averrhoës,

spoiled by the supposed incapacity of the Anonymous, it stands here revealed as a wretched plagiarism (p. lxiv). Schedel gives the Averrhoistic and also the Christian view side by side, apparently for completeness' sake'.

[D] Jeweill bey den allergeleertisten und fürnamsten mannen die die waren natur und geschicht beschriben haben vom geschopff der werlt, und von erster geburt der menschen zwayerlay wone ist. So wollen wir von disen vordern zeiten: den anfang nemende auf das kürztz schreiben: Sovil sich von sower (altershalben) enthlegnen dingen gezimen wil. Etlich haben gemaint das die werlt ungeporn und unzerstörlich: und das menschlich geschlecht von ewigkeith her gewesen sey, und anfang einichs ursprungs nit gehabt hab. Etlich mainen die werlt geboren und zerstörlich seyn, und sagten das die menschen anfang der gepurt genomen hetten.

The Anonymous' choice of the heathen view tallies with his desire to render his hero as Antichristian as possible (cf. lxvi). Schedel's mention of the Mosaic creation theory in the middle and towards the end of this chapter of the *Cronick* doubtlessly led the Anonymous into the well known discrepancy between the statement of Mephostophiles as to the uncreated nature of the world and of mankind and the same spirit's later utterance as to the creation of mankind and of the heavens at the hands of God. Szamatólski suspected (*Vierteljahrsschrift f. Literaturgesch.* I, 180) compilation at this point because of the glaring contradiction just noticed, but was unable to indicate the source for obvious reasons. His appeal to Aventin's lengthy attempt in his *Bavarian Chronicle*, A. D. 1526, to refute the Averrhoistic theory as good proof of the wide currency of the latter in the sixteenth century, seems to me as devoid of cogency as it does to Milchsack (p. lxvi). Aventin's effort was far more likely prompted by his outraged religious feelings upon reading the doctrine in Schedel's *Cronick*. This would be morally certain, if an examination of the *Bavarian Chronicle* revealed frequent borrowings from Schedel.

Once launched upon the contradiction already emphasized, the chap-book author was naturally forced into the deviations from Schedel shown in the rest of the twenty-second chapter. There remain of this chapter the first fifteen lines, descriptive of Mephostophiles' approach to Faust, whom the spirit finds deeply depressed, for which no literary source has yet been discovered.

Another theological chapter, the third of the three places mentioned above, is the tenth, in the *Faustbuch*: *Question Doctoris Fausti mit seinem Geyst Mephostophile* whose substance and, in part, whose wording is found in Schedel's *Cronick* (Bl. 6a, 2): *Von unterschied der himlischen ierarchie gewalt oder fürstenthumb*.

The scope and nature of the parallels, cited in detail by Milchsack (pp. xxii-lxxiv), between the *Faustbuch* (chaps. 10, 21, 22, 26, 27), and Hartmann Schedel's handbook, are such as to show clearly the author's slavish dependence upon printed authority, and to cast a serious doubt upon the theory that the chap-book rests to any considerable extent upon oral or written Faust-tradition. We see the Anonymous here at work with shears and paste-pot, now condensing, now omitting, and again shuffling his clippings to adapt them more closely to the space and purpose of his *Roman*, and the more we see him do it the more incredulous we become, as to his own statement about the well-known *Faustsage*, whose mouth-piece he professed to be. Is this statement anything more than a rather clever didactic and commercial trick to increase the sale and influence of his ware?

Milchsack begins his discussion of *Mittelbare Quellen* (pp. lxxiv sq.) with a notice of what, as it seems to me, may prove to have been a direct source. A passage in Jacobus de Therramo's *Belial zu teutsch, etc., etc.*, Strassburg, 1508, corresponds closely with about one third of the fourteenth chapter of the *Faustbuch* concerning the efforts of the evil spirits to people Hell with the ensnared souls of men (W 29,14-30,9). Since, however, an earlier edition of the *Belial* (Reutlingen, 1472) presents several still more striking verbal resemblances to the chap-book than the Strassburg edition of 1508, while the latter more closely accords with the *Faustbuch* in two particulars, Milchsack does not claim to have found the direct source of the Anonymous. In the absence of a possible third edition of the *Belial* with none of the deviations just mentioned, that should tally in each instance with the chap-book, we cannot be sure that the work of de Therramo is the direct prototype of this part of the *Faustbuch*. As the matter now is, Milchsack is properly in doubt whether the hypothetical direct source copied *Belial*, or whether the latter is a copy of the former (p. lxxix).

Less satisfactory than the foregoing is Milch-

sack's attempt (pp. lxxix-xc) to discover in Dionysius von Leeuwen's *Cordiale de quatuor novissimis et de particulari judicio et obitu singulorum*, Colonie, 1473, or a German abridgment of the same: *Tractatus quatuor novissimorū. Das sind die vier letzten ding, etc.*, 1493, and in: *Ain schöne matteri Eingedailt in sibē tag der wochē und genant der sündigen sele spiegel*, etc., Ulm, 1487, the indirect sources of sundry passages of the chap-book, as for instance, parts of chapters sixteen (W 35, 33-36, 10, and W 37, 31-38, 34) and sixty-nine (W 116, 25-32). In spite of the parallelism here disclosed, these works prove scarcely more than that eschatological opinions of this stamp prevailed in theological books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, wherefore it is superfluous to assume a *Faustsage* as their basis in the chap-book.

Pages xciii-cxxliii discuss the relation of Ludovicus Milichius' *Zauberteufel (Der Zauberteufel. Das ist von Zauberei, Warsagung, Beschwerung, Sagen, Aberglauben, Hexerei und mancherlei Wercken des Teufels, etc.)*, Frankfurt, a. M., 1563) to the *Faustbuch*. Sigmund Feyrabend's reprint of the work, Frankfurt, a. M., 1587, in his *Theatrum Diabolorum* and the existence of at least two further editions of the book, one at Frankfurt, a. M., 1564, and the other *ibidem*, 1566, are proofs of the wide circulation of the work. The tone of the treatise and the dedication of the author's only other known work,—*Schrap Teufel*, etc., Homburg (?), 1566; Frankfurt (?), 1567,—to the doughty Count Wolrad von Waldeck, of Protestant fame, show the theological leanings of Milichius. His work (*Zauberteufel*), a warning against evil and dangerous practices, answers the two questions: 1. What is Witchcraft? 2. What kinds of Witchcraft are there? Its thirty-eight chapters are not concerned with ultimate questions, like how? or why? The author's chapter head-lines (1. *Ob Zaubery sey.*—2. *Was Z. sey.*—6. *Dass alle Z. durch den Teufel werde aussgerichtet.*—7. *Von etlichen mitteln und Ceremonien zur Z. gehorig*, etc.), are ingeniously worded and adapted to catch the attention of the reader.

The preface of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript (W 5-9) shows unmistakably the substantial and also the verbal influence of the *Zauberteufel*. (Cf. Milchsack's parallel columns, pp. cvii, cviii, cix and cx). Definitions of *augurium*, *chiromantia*, etc., assume the same shape in the chap-book as in sundry parts of the

Zauberteufel; in the eighth chapter of the latter work we find the prototype of the deprecatory statement of the *Faustbuch* concerning the abuse of God's Words in incantations (p. cxi); Milichius mentions the *Gespersten* and *Wunderzeichen, welche die Egyptischen [Zauberer] für dem König Pharao thäten*, thus furnishing almost literally the model of W 8, 4 sq., not to speak of other allusions in Milichius to the arts of the Egyptian sorcerers. References in the *Zauberteufel* to Persia, as the original home of sorcery, to Hebrew words in incantations, and to the Chaldaeans, as celebrated exponents of occult sciences (pp. 99 sg. and 198), may easily account for the assertion of the Anonymous concerning Chaldaic, Hebrew and Persian *vocabula* as particularly potent agents of magic (W 8, 7 sq.). Again Milichius apparently furnishes the prose original (p. 52) of the rhymed saying in W 9, 15, 16. Upon these and other similar facts the argument rests that the author of the preface of the Wolfenbüttel Ms. had the *Zauberteufel* before him as he wrote. The question whether this author also wrote the manuscript itself, or whether he merely furnished an original Ms. that had no preface, with the preface in question, or whether the latter is merely a substitute for a preface that accompanied the original, differing from that of W and S, can only be decided after an exhaustive comparison of the extant versions has been made. Milchsack assumes the author of the *Vorrede* to be identical with that of the Ms. I shall later give reasons for regarding the *Vorrede* of W as older than that of S, and incidentally show why, as it seems to me, the editor of S found it necessary to write another preface.

In the twentieth chapter of his book, Milichius gives us under the caption *Vom Milchstelen*, a geographical and climatological explanation of the growth of summer fruits at some point during what passes for mid-winter at some other point, and ascribes to the extreme quickness of the Devil, that enables him similarly to manipulate stolen eggs, butter, and milk, the appearance of such fruits in winter at the pleasure of the wizard. Milchsack shows this to have been a current view of the matter in the sixteenth century (pp. cxviii sq.). Hence the chap-book author might have derived his chapter: *Abentheur an des Grafen von Anhalt hoff getriben* (W 86, 1 sq.) from Hermann Hamelmann: *Der Teufel selbs*, etc., Frankf. a. M. 1568 (?), or from some other hand-book,

save for his tendency, already observed in case of Schedel's *Cronick*, to continue the use of the same source as long as it proved fruitful. Milichius furnishes at any rate the essence of the passages in question. Place, time, persons, and situation seem to be the invention of the Anonymous. Even the kernel furnished by Milichius shows development under the influence of the *Elucidarius*. Milchsack quotes two passages from the twelfth chapter of this work that contain questions of the pupil and replies of the master, as to the cause of the seasons of the year and of the change from day to night (W 87, 1-7 and 87, 9-12). Thus he corroborates the contention of Szamatólski as to the use of the work on the part of the Anonymous. Szamatólski showed in his article already quoted the dependence of the *Faustbuch* chapter *Vom Donner* (W 74, 14 sq.) upon the fifteenth chapter of the *Elucidarius*. Milchsack recognizes the cogency of this argument, but finds in the chap-book author's use of the words: *Kiseln, das Gewilck an den Ort treiben* (lacking in the *Elucidarius*) evidence of his knowledge and use of the *Zauberteufel* even here; especially in view of Milichius' further statement, p. 208: *Er macht die blitzen im regen, und liss den wind kommen auss heymlichen orten* (Enden). Professor Victor Michels (cf. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xviii, 43, column 1698), in his attempt to reduce this argument to its lowest terms, overlooks entirely the passage of Milichius, just cited, as well as the Anonymous' derivation from Milichius' statement that the clouds can come *auss den Mitternächtigen landen, odder auch anss sonst nahen orten* of the chap-book conclusion that *oft umb Mittag ain Gewitter daher kombt ye im Aufgann, Nidergang unnd Mitternacht* (W 75, 3 sq.).

The salient features of the conjuring scene, that is 1. place, 2. ceremonies, 3. number of times the formula is repeated, and 4. the time of the occurrence are furnished by Milichius. The cross-roads (W 12, 30), the magic circles (W 12, 31 sq.; 13, 9, 11, 18, 23; 14, 3), the triple conjuring (W 13, 30 sq.), and the time of the occurrence (*gegen Abent*, W 12, 30, or, more definitely, *inn der Nacht zu Neun unnd Zehen Uhr*, W 13, 2, and with indication of extent, *biss umb Zwelff uhr inn die Nacht hinein*, W 14, 4 sq.) all find their counterparts in Milichius, p. 61, 63, 62, 59, respectively. The most important of all, the formula itself, we find nowhere in the chap-book, notwith-

standing the brave flourish of allusion to Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Persian, and Arabic vocables, figures, characters, incantations, and to necromantical books (W 11, 31 sq. and W 24, 24). In view of this, Milichius' omission of the formula from conscientious scruples, lest the weak and the inquisitive be tempted to a wicked use of it, if given, is significant (cf. Milchsack, p. iC.). The omission can certainly not be accidental in case of the Anonymous and, judged by the zeal of the author in making the adventures and person of Faust both interesting and terrifying, it is not withheld because of moral compunctions. The conclusion is, therefore, that the Anonymous did not give the formula for the simple reason that he did not know it. (Cf. p. cxxxi.)

I can see only a fanciful connection between Mephistophiles' appearance to Faust as a fiery shooting star, that changes gradually into a ball of fire and finally into a gray monk (W 13, 17 sq.), and Milichius' discussion of genuine and of false diabolical appearances (pp. 88 sq. and 134). More probable to my mind than this is the theory, later adopted by Milchsack and discussed by him at length (pp. cccxlvii sq.), that Luther's anecdote *Tischreden*, Erl. ed. 60, 28) of the Devil who "a Monk would be" and who really became one under the condition imposed by the brethren that he adopt their garb and ring a little bell (*schelle, glöcklin*) whenever he approached, is, along with the Protestant Anonymous' identification of the Catholic Monk with the Devil himself, the occasion of the Gray Monk's appearance in the chap-book. This view also explains Faust's desire to marry, and the Monk-Devil's rabid objection to it, far more acceptably than the current consideration that marriage is ordained of God and hence hateful to the Devil.

Milichius speaks repeatedly of Simon Magus as *the* magician since the time of the apostles, and plainly has him in mind when enumerating the acts within the range and power of a *Schwarzkünstler* (cf. Milichius: chaps. v, vi, xiii, xiv, xvi). His quotation of the Clementine *Recognitiones* in their bearing upon the life and career of Simon Magus, is an earnest of his great interest in the character and deeds of this object of the allusion contained in the eighth chap. of the Acts of the Apostles. Here then we have: a. the author of a *Zauberroman*, provided but scantily with oral and written tradition as basis, ransacking old handbooks and treatises (cf. researches of Ellinger,

Szamatólski, Hartmann, Bauer, Stuckenberger, Meyer, Milchsack, etc.), for material and for suggestions for a plot; *b.* evidence of acquaintance with and drafts upon the substance and form of the *Zauberteufel*, and, *c.* the inevitable selection of Simon Magus as conceived and portrayed by Milichius as lay-figure for the hero, Faust. Milichius tells us (p. 48) of the boasts of Simon Magus: *a.* ability to render himself invisible; *b.* power to pass through solid obstacles; *c.* safe flight from lofty points; *d.* power to free himself and bind his keepers; *e.* power to cause prison doors to open spontaneously, to allow escape; *f.* power to endow inert objects with life; *g.* power to cause sudden growth of plants and trees; *h.* power to resist effects of fire; *i.* power to render himself unrecognizable by facial transformation; *j.* power to turn into a sheep or goat; *k.* can cause beards to grow upon the faces of boys; *l.* can fly like a bird; *m.* can produce gold in abundance; *n.* can appoint and depose kings; *o.* can cause himself to be revered as a deity.

What are some of the accomplishments of Faust? He becomes invisible in presence of the Pope (W 59, 11) and at the Bavarian wedding (W 80, 30); frees himself and others from imprisonment (W 90, 10); causes the sudden growth of a garden (W 104, 1 sq.); assumes the appearance of Mahomet (W 66, 24); furnishes the students on Ash Wednesday with donkey heads (W 93, 9); rides through the air on a sort of Pegasus (Flügelross) (W 56, 28), in a dragon-car (W 53, 23), and also on the folds of his mantle (W 80, 19); in place of heathen images he brings to life the Emperor Alexander (W 76, 7) and Grecian Helen (W 94, 6). In spirit and in detail we note a substantial resemblance between the magic experiments of Simon Magus and those of the chap-book Faust. This was long ago recognized by E. Sommer and de la Garde. Recently Th. Zahn (Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche *Faustsage*, Erlangen, 1882) urged that, in view of such striking resemblances, the *Simonsage* is the direct prototype (*Stammvater*) of the *Faustsage*. Kuno Fischer's objections to this claim (*Goethes Faust I*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 44 sq.), typical of a whole class of similar criticism, were cogent as long as no tangible connection between the two figures could be shown. Now Milchsack shows in his whole argument: 1. that the so-called *Faustsage* is the basis of the chap-book in no such important sense as all his predecessors have

tacitly assumed or explicitly claimed; that is, that the Anonymous wrote an independent *Roman*, selecting material and, in part, phraseology from printed German books, wherever he found what seemed adapted to his purpose, and 2. that in Milichius' *Zauberteufel*, from which the author of the Wolfenbüttel Ms. unquestionably borrowed many substantial and partly also verbal features, Simon Magus is repeatedly alluded to as Arch-Magician. From this he infers that the resemblance between Simon and Faust is not accidental but intentional,—resting not upon oral or written tradition, but upon the literary workmanship of the chap-book author (cf. pp. cxxxv sq.). Attentive study of the details of this argument convinces me of the soundness of Milchsack's reasoning and conclusion.

Zahn and other scholars have frequently traced the gnostic conception of the inherent, creative wisdom of the deified Simon (*die Kraft Gottes, die da gross ist*)—the *Ennoia*—later made concrete by identification with Athene, especially with the Homeric Helena, just as Zeus was transferred at times to the figure of Simon. Thus the connection with the Homeric myth was early effected and, in spite of the protests of the Church Fathers (cf. Epiphanius, Haer. xxi, 3), never forgotten. The efforts of the church were, however, successful in fastening upon Helen in her relation to Simon the stigma of paramour by reiterating the claim that she was merely a lewd companion, selected by Simon from a Syrian brothel (cf. p. cxlvi). In view of the argument already cited for regarding Simon Magus as the deliberately chosen prototype of the Faust of the chap-book, the question arises whether it is at all natural to suppose that the Anonymous would stop short at the figure of Simon and not include his companion Helena, associated with him in the mind of theologians ever since the early centuries of the Christian era. In not a single fragment of the *Faustsage* before 1587 does Helena appear as the companion of Faust. She has nothing whatever to do with the *Faustsage*. She was long regarded as the concubine of Simon Magus. In the *Faustbuch* she becomes the concubine of Faust.

The lewdness of magicians, and especially of witches in their intercourse with the Devil, was a feature of popular belief, formulated by Milichius in his *Zauberteufel*, p. 43, where he quotes the words of Chrysostomus' *de pulchri-*

tudine et oratione (cf. p. clxix sq.). Hence the prominence of the rôle assigned by the author to lewd interruptions of Faust's incipient moods of regret and penitence by the Devil, masquerading as a series of beautiful women. The occasion of Faust's fits of penitence is his disappointment at the insufficiency of the Devil's replies to his questions, so that a regular see-saw ensues between *Forschbegier* and *Gier nach gemeiner Sinnenlust*. As the years of the compact pass, and Faust's desperate strait becomes more obvious to him, the Devil finds it increasingly difficult to devise sensual gratifications adequate to silencing the stings of conscience and pangs of remorse experienced by his victim. Revealing a certain measure of dramatic power, in the Anonymous, there comes towards the very end of Faust's career, as a kind of climax, the desire to possess that paragon of beauty, Helen of Troy, as the fulfillment of the most daring and least possible of all wishes (cf. pp. clxviii, clxix).

Important for an understanding of the chap-book version of Faust's compact with the Devil is Milichius' distinct statement in the tenth chapter of the *Zauberteufler*, p. 92 sq., that the magician has not a passive but an active part in such agreements:

Er thue was er wöle so ist des alles der Zauberer theylhafftig. Und auss dieser ursach muss der Zauberer unterweilen etwas von seinem eygen leibe darzu thun, als har vom haupt oder sonst was. Muss auch etwann den bund, so er mit dem Teuffel machet, mit seinem eygen blut versigeln.

Faust's employment of magic, from a thirst of knowledge and from motives of vanity and frivolity

—nam an sich Adlersflügel, wolt alle gründt am Himmel unnd Erden erforschen. Dann sein fürwitz, frechheit unnd Leichtfertigkeit stach und raytzt ju also, das er auf ein zeit ettliche Zauberische vocabula, etc.,

(W 12, 21 sp.), is foreshadowed by Milichius' regretful statement (p. 87) that men resort to magic *etwann auss unverstandt etwann auss fürwitz unnd rhum, dass sie nicht mit andern zustimmen wollen sondern mehr wissen denn ein ander* and, instead of heeding the revelation of God's Word, devote themselves to temporal, uncertain, and petty investigations, *ja die dinge, welche kein mench wissen kann noch soll und stehen allein in gottes versehung und gewalt ausgründen wollen* (p. 261 sq.) (cf. p. clxxv).

Nothing in the compact itself nor in the tradition concerning the situation, suggests the need of its formal renewal five years before the expiration of the stipulated term. Milchsack seems to me, therefore, right in finding significant Milichius' statement (chap. 21, *Von dem Hexenfahren in der Luft*) that there is reason to suppose the Devil occasionally holds conclave with witches and wizards to renew with them the agreement, for fear that, if he depended upon the initial compact, they might backslide and turn again to God. Faust's vacillating nature, his frequent fits of despondency and regret, would naturally suggest the adoption of Milichius' hint (cf. p. clxxviii).

To avoid a depleted treasury, Faust at the instance of Mephistophiles digs (W 107, 24 sq.) for buried treasure in the crypt of an old chapel near Wittenberg. He discovers a dragon sitting upon the treasure, and by conjuring the creature compels its withdrawal into a cavern. He finds, however, nothing but coal with an accompaniment of spooks. Nothing daunted he brings the coal home, where he finds it has been turned into gold and silver. In the thirty-sixth chapter of his book Milichius tells us of the unholy origin of buried treasure—wrested not infrequently from its rightful possessors, and often explicitly entrusted to the keeping of the Devil by wicked misers—and mentions as a sign of this unholy origin the presence of dogs, toads, and other unclean beasts found lying upon the treasure. He adds that he saw with his own eyes a huge poison dragon lying dead by a cavern, around which a circle had been drawn under which treasure lay buried. He reports the saying that such treasure sometimes disappears or is changed into coal, recalls Lucian's tale of Simon's lusty digging for treasure and fear upon finding it lest it turn to coal, and also Erasmus' words: *Hem, pro thesauro carbones*, and adds that in digging for buried treasure the sight and sound of spooks are common enough (cf. p. clxxxix). Here we certainly have every essential feature of the chap-book record. I have followed Milchsack's argument thus in detail to show concretely the basis of his contention as to the Anonymous' use of Milichius' *Zauberteufler* in ways already specified in my review. Pages clxxxii–ccxliii are devoted to a minute scrutiny of the demonological views of Milichius and their reflection in the chap-book. This strengthens

the argument I have already outlined, although it depends for its value upon the validity of the reasoning thus far.

Omitting from our review of that part of the *Einleitung* entitled *Zusätze* (pp. ccxliv-ccxcvi) Milchsack's disappointed mention of *Meyster Hannsens Lucifers mit seiner gesellschaft val*, Bamberg, 1493 (discovered and reprinted by Jos. Baer & Co., Frankf. a. M. during the printing of Milchsack's book. Cf. the latter's confidence as to its relationship to the chap-book, p. lxxii.), his corroboration by means of this work, probably unknown to the Anonymous, of Düntzer's derivation (Goethe's *Faust* I, Leipzig, 1850, p. 23) of the name Mephistophiles from a half-educated juggler's version of (ὁ)μή φωτό, ἱλός (p. ccii) and also his quotations from Rudolf v. Ems' *Weltchronick*, the *Christherreckronik*, with comparison of the *Kaiserchronik* in their barrenness of suggestions for the Anonymous concerning the *Simonsage* (pp. cclx-cclxvi), we turn for a moment to the third and last of these *Zusätze*, the author's view of Lerchheimer in relation to the chap-book. He claims the latter antedates in its composition Lerchheimer's *Christlich Bedencken und erjnerung von Zauberei* (1585) by some years. The tone of absolute confidence in which Milchsack speaks of this (cf. Footnote, p. cxix:

"Die noch immer allgemein geglaubte Behauptung, dass der Verfasser des Faustbuches Lerchheimer's Arbeit benutzt habe, ist zweifellos unrichtig. Als Lerchheimer's Buch erschien, war das Volksbuch im Manuscript längst vollendet und wahrscheinlich schon in mehrfachen Abschriften verbreitet.")

implies positive knowledge as to the date of the Wolfenbüttel Ms., that is certainly not utilized in that part of the *Einleitung* already published. Unfortunately this argument is marred by the author's undisguised indignation at what he regards as the unwarranted use made by Wilhelm Meyer, in his *Nirnberger Faustgeschichten*, of the loan to him, before publication, of the Wolfenbüttel *Faust* Ms. and of those parts of the *Einleitung* already in print. Meyer's attempted refutation (*Faustgeschichten*, p. 23 sq.) of a view of the relationship of Lerchheimer and the Anonymous, entertained neither by him nor by any one else, save Milchsack, can have been suggested, he argues, only by the footnote just quoted at length (cf. pp. ccxlv sq.), and must

have been intended to prejudice these as yet unpublished studies in the eyes of Faust scholars. With no desire to act as umpire in the premises, I cannot help protesting against the introduction into a scientific argument of individual grievances and the confusion of personal pique with impartial zeal for the truth. Bad faith and deficient sense of honor should certainly be punished; they cannot, however, be adequately treated in the midst of the report of an investigation, without detriment to the latter. The spirit of controversy introduced at this point by Milchsack weakens the effect of his evidence by suggesting that he is more anxious to show Meyer to be in error than to arrive at the true state of the case, chap-book author vs. Lerchheimer.

The story of the old man tormented by the Devil because of an attempted conversion of the latter's victim, strong through faith and prayer to scoff at and repel the Evil Spirit, is told by Luther (*Tischreden*, 59, 323), by Lerchheimer (*Christlich Bedencken*, etc., 1585, p. 37), and by the Anonymous (W 98, 24). Meyer defends the generally accepted view of the dependence of the *Faustbuch* version upon that of Lerchheimer and derives the latter from Luther (pp. 24 sq.) Milchsack finds reason to believe the sequence is 1. Luther, 2. *Faustbuch*, and 3. Lerchheimer. To prove this he arranges the three versions in parallel columns (pp. cclxxx-cclxxxiii), distinguishing by different kinds of type agreements between Luther and either of the other two, and between Lerchheimer and the chap-book. For Meyer, Lerchheimer's closer connection with Luther is sufficiently evidenced by the parallelism between the triumphant sneer of the old man in the *Tischreden*: *Ei, Teufel, wie ist dir so recht geschehen; Du sollt sein ein schöner Engel, so bist du zu einer Sau worden* and that in Lerchheimer's story: *Ey, wie ein feine stimm und gesang ist das eines Engels der im Himmel nicht bleiben konnte, gehet jetzt in der leut heuser verwandelt in ein saw*—phrases not found in the chap-book. Milchsack meets this argument by reminding us (p. cclxxxix) that the comparison of devils with swine was commonplace among theologians ever since the New Testament account of the demons permitted by Christ to enter the swine that rushed down a steep place into the sea and were drowned (Matth. 8, 30 sq.). The swinish grunting of the Devil in the old man's chamber, mentioned by the chap-book, would, therefore, naturally suggest to the theologian, Lerchheimer, the sneering comparison, not contained in the *Faustbuch*, especially as a logical improvement (*im Paradies ein Engel, auf*

Erden eine Sau) upon the latter's halting expression (*der nicht zwen tag lang im Paradies bleiben mögen . . . und hat inn seiner wohnung nicht bleiben können*). (Cf. p. ccxc.) In comparison with this apposite consideration Milchsack's further argument (p. cclxxxviii) that in the two expressions: *bist du zu einer Sau worden* and *verwandelt in ein saw* only two words (*ein, saw*) are actually identical, and that the derivation of the one from the other is hence improbable, seems to me weak and valueless. This thumb-rule reasoning would easily disprove his own conclusions as to the relation of the chap-book to Milichius, or even to Schedel. Its controversial character, hostile to the scientific spirit, is obvious. Milchsack gives on p. cclxxxiv a conspectus of verbal correspondences between the *Tischrede* on the one hand, and the *Faustbuch* and Lerchheimer on the other. Of ten places where the three fail to tally with each other, the *Faustbuch* agrees with the *Tischrede* in eight, Lerchheimer in only three instances. That the chap-book author should have copied Lerchheimer and have accidentally hit upon the exact phraseology of Luther five times in one anecdote, at points where his supposed original was either misleading or silent, is to my mind extremely improbable. Not equally convincing is Milchsack's attempt to derive Lerchheimer from the *Faustbuch*. His rejection (p. cclxxxvi) of the possibility that Lerchheimer followed the *Tischrede* directly seems to me entirely unwarranted by the internal evidence. I regard, therefore, as of little value the brief comparison (footnote, pp. ccxc, ccxc) of the Frankf. print, S, with the Wolfenbüttel Ms., W, intended to show that Lerchheimer must have copied neither of these nor their original, but rather an independent copy of that original.

Without having attempted an exhaustive comparison of S with W, I have noted some points that indicate the earlier origin of W: 1. The *Vorrede* of S, when compared with that of W, seems the substitute of an editor not content with the rather mild didacticism of the latter, and fairly bristles with guides for the protection of the unwary reader. (Cf. the triple quotation of Bible texts on the first two pages.) The preface of W is apparently too descriptive and too historical,—too liable, therefore, in the eyes of the Frankfurt editor to mislead the public. As a remedy he has reduced the historical data to the minimum, substituted an exclamatory sermon by way of warning, and characterized Mephistophiles on the third page of the *Vorrede* as

einen bösen verfluchten Lügen und Mordtgeist der in der Warheit und Gerechtigkeit nicht bestanden, unnd seiner Sünde halben auss dem Himmel in den Abgrund der Hellen verstoßen worden, mit Leib unnd Seel, zu zeitlicher unnd ewiger Verdammuss zu eygen ergeben.

These words contradict Mephistophiles' own description of his estate and frame of mind, (W 24, 32. 35, 32. 36, 27. 41, 27. 56, 10) and

certainly seem inspired by the fear of allowing the assertions in the body of the book to go unchallenged in the preface. Religious zeal furnished the Frankfurt print with a preface different from that of W 2. The anecdotal features of the Frankfurt preface seem to be terse reductions of the more circumstantial and clumsier equivalents of W (cf. the Goldturm snake story: W 5, 25 sq; S bottom of p. 7 of *Vorr.*). Also the career and fate of Zoroaster: W 7, 21 sq; S middle of p. 7 of *Vorr.*). 3. S abounds in stylistic improvements as compared with W that continually suggest an editor who consciously avoids the crudities of his original (cf. the reversion in S of the chapter sequence, 60, 61, and the entire omission of chapter 62, as contained in W, to render Faust's life with Grecian Helen the climax of this part of the work). Sundry other omissions and substitutions, large and small, that cannot safely be studied without access to the Wolfenbüttel Ms. or to an adequate critical apparatus, seem in line with my conviction that W is considerably older than S.

Milchsack's chapters upon *Tendenz* and *Composition* are manifestly incomplete, and were published in this fragmentary condition at the instance of the impatient printer. Judgment as to their value should be suspended until the appearance of their supplements in the second part of Milchsack's studies. My desire for an early appearance of these supplements is stimulated by the realization of the great importance of what he seems to me already to have clearly proven: 1. What Meyer had asserted without proof in his *Nürnberg Faustgeschichten*: that oral and written tradition concerning Faust or still earlier magicians, is the basis of the chap-book in no such sense as has hitherto been supposed; 2. that the chap-book is a *Zauberroman* whose plot is the invention of the Anonymous. 3. That the historical, geographical, and cosmological features of the work owe a large substantial and verbal debt to Schedel's *Cronick*. 4. That Milichius' *Zauberteufel* was studied carefully by the chap-book author, literally quoted in a number of instances, made to yield the ground-work of numerous chapters, phraseologically the work of the Anonymous, and to lend in the person of Simon Magus, and by inference that of his companion, Helena, the outlines of the career of Faust, and, 5. that Lerchheimer's *Christlich Bedencken* can no longer be regarded as the prototype of a portion of the *Faustbuch*.

STARR WILLARD CUTTING.

University of Chicago.

CORRECTION.

MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xii, p. 238, footnote: Instead of "The greek letter $v=u$," read " $v=\overset{\circ}{u}$." The ring over the u was broken off in a few numbers while passing through the press.